

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A

AGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT STEPHEN ROSENFELD OP-ED COLUMN
WASHINGTON POST FRIDAY DECEMBER 10 HEADED "LOOSENING A
KNOT ON DETENTE."

2. WASHINGTON IS STARTING TO PERK WITH IDEAS ABOUT HOW
TO LOOSEN THE POLITICAL KNOT THAT HAS BOUND EMIGRATION

FROM RUSSIA AND TRADE WITH RUSSIA AND THAT HAS RESTRICTED
"DETENTE" OVERALL IN THE LAST FEW YEARS.

3. GIVEN THE LARGE AND STEADY AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO
EMIGRATION, ESPECIALLY EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS, THERE IS
NO THOUGHT--AND NO CHANCE--OF BREAKING THE EMIGRATION/TRADE
CONNECTION. SOVIET PERFORMANCE ON EMIGRATION REMAINS
CRITICAL. WHAT IS BEING SOUGHT BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION,
THE CONGRESS AND INTERESTED CITIZENS IS A NEW CONNECTION.

4. HENRY JACKSON (D-WASH.), SENATE SPONSOR OF 1974 LEGIS-
LATION THAT CREATED THE EXISTING KNOT, BELIEVES THAT THE
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GROWING SOVIET LIQUIDITY CRISIS--BLOC FOREIGN DEBT IS

\$40 BILLION--MAKES THIS A CRUCIAL TIME TO KEEP THE PRESSURE

ON. HE DOESN'T THINK THE JACKSON AMENDMENT HAS FAILED, AS DO SOME WHO NOTE THAT EMIGRATION HAS FALLEN BY TWO-THIRDS SINCE ITS PASSAGE. HE THINKS PATIENCE WILL BRING RESULTS.

5. BUT A DIMINISHING NUMBER OF OTHER LEGISLATORS WHO SUPPORTED THE JACKSON AMENDMENT, AND A DIMINISHING PART OF THE CONSTITUENCY MOST IDENTIFIED WITH IT, AMERICAN JEWS, SHARE THE CONVICTION THAT THIS SORT OF BALD PRESSURE WILL TURN MOSCOW AROUND. THE EMERGING CONSENSUS SEEMS TO BE THAT THE AMENDMENT WAS A POWERFUL SPOTLIGHT AND LEVER BEFORE ITS PASSAGE, BUT THAT NOW IF THERE IS A BETTER WAY IT SHOULD BE TRIED.

6. "IT MAY HAVE BEEN A MISTAKE BUT NOW THAT IT'S THERE, YOU DON'T COME OFF IT WITHOUT GETTING A CONCESSION FROM THE RUSSIANS," SAYS ONE LEGISLATOR, SPEAKING FOR MANY.

7. IT'S ACCEPTED ALL AROUND THAT NO NEW APPROACH CAN WORK IF IT'S NOT CHAMPIONED BY THE NEW PRESIDENT. JIMMY CARTER'S GENERAL STATEMENTS ON HUMAN VALUES, AND HIS SPECIFIC REMARKS ON SOVIET JEWS, HAVE CONVINCED MOST CLOSE OBSERVERS THAT HE'LL PUSH HARDER THAN GERALD FORD DID. FORD, OF COURSE, HAD NO SOONER TAKEN OFFICE WHEN THE JACKSON AMENDMENT WAS RAMMED DOWN HIS THROAT. HE COULDN'T COPE.

8. CARTER, WHO EARLIER HAD CALLED IT "COUNTERPRODUCTIVE," WROTE JACKSON LAST SEPT. 29 THAT THE AMENDMENT, "WHICH IS NOW THE LAW OF THE LAND...WILL BE EFFECTIVELY IMPLEMENTED BY A CARTER-MONDALE ADMINISTRATION." ONE PRESUMES HE INTENDS TO EFFECITVELY IMPLEMENT ALL LAWS OF THE LAND. HIS WORDS WOULD SEEM TO LEAVE ROOM FOR VARYING APPROACHES, OR SO ADVOCATES OF VARIANCE HOPE.

9. IT CAN ONLY HELP THAT HENRY KISSINGER IS GOING. HIS DEPARTURE WILL REMOVE THE SPECIAL TENSION THAT THE KISSINGER-JACKSON RELATIONSHIP INJECTED INTO AMERICAN UNCLASSIFIED

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POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. SPECIFICALLY, HIS DEPARTURE APPEARS TO CANCEL OUT THE EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE BY WHICH THE TWO MEN MADE A TENSE AND ULTIMATELY UNWORKABLE BARGAIN ON TRADE/EMIGRATION POLICY IN 1974.

10. JACKSON HIMSELF SAYS PRIVATELY THAT IF ANOTHER FORMULA IS FOUND TO GET PEOPLE OUT OF RUSSIA, HE'LL GO ALONG.

11. THERE MAY WELL BE ANOTHER FORMULA, OR TWO OR THREE.

12. ONE IS FOR THE PRESIDENT, AFTER A QUIET CHAT WITH THE KREMLIN, TO ASK CONGRESS TO LET HIM USE THE AMENDMENT'S WAIVER AUTHORITY TO GRANT MOST-FAVORED NATION TARIFF STATUS FOR ONE YEAR ON THE BASIS THAT HE THINKS IT WILL HELP EMIGRATION. CONGRESS HAS THE OPTION OF SITTING BACK AND LETTING IT HAPPEN, AS IT DID TOWARD ROMANIA. MR. FORD NEVER ASKED FOR THE WAIVER; FEW THINK CONGRESS WOULD HAVE LET HIM AND KISSINGER PROCEED. CARTER COULD HARDLY BE DENIED, IF HE SATISFIED CONGRESS THAT HE HAD DONE THE PROPER DIPLOMATIC SPADEWORK. THE RUSSIANS THEN COULD CLAIM THAT, IN RELEASING WHAT PRESUMABLY WOULD BE A SUBSTANTIAL NEW FLOW OF EMIGRANTS, THEY HAD NOT KNUCKLED UNDER TO SCOOP JACKSON. IN A YEAR, IF IT DIDN'T WORK, CONGRESS COULD TAKE MFN BACK.

13. A SECOND FORMULA CENTERS ON THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT, IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION, THE UNITED STATES AND 33 OTHER COUNTRIES UNDERTOOK, IN "BASKET III," TO PERMIT THE "FREER" FLOW OF PERSONS. MOSCOW HAS CONSTRUED THIS NARROWLY TO EVADE THE EMIGRATION QUESTION. BUT CONCEIVABLY MOSCOW MIGHT TAKE CERTAIN EMIGRATION STEPS TO CONFORM WITH AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT THAT IT SIGNED, EVEN WHILE IT REJECTED THE SAME STEPS IN A JACKSON AMENDMENT CONTEXT. THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT IS A NEW TOOL. SECRETARY OF STATE-DESIGNATE CYRUS VANCE SAYS THE WEST HAS BEEN TOO TIMID IN USING IT.

14. YET A THIRD FORMULA IS TO WORK OUT A PATTERN OF
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"GESTURES." FOR INSTANCE, THE RUSSIANS MIGHT RELEASE "REFUSNIKS"--JEWS REPEATEDLY REFUSED EXIT VISAS--IN BIG NUMBERS; REDUCE HARRASMENT OF VISA APPLICANTS; HASTEN THE REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES DIVIDED BY THE IRON CURTAIN; PERMIT SUCH ACTIVITIES AS THE FORTHCOMING MOSCOW SYMPOSIUM ON JEWISH CULTURAL LIFE; AND SO ON. AT THE SAME TIME, THE UNITED STATES COULD, SAY, MOVE TO LIFT THE CREDIT LID WRITTEN INTO THE STEVENSON AMENDMENT. THE POINT WOULD BE TO GET THINGS MOVING.

15. I DON'T KNOW WHICH OF THESE FORMULAS IS THE BEST, OR WHICH THE CARTER PEOPLE AND CONGRESS MAY FINALLY HONE IN ON, OR WHETHER THE REQUISITE TACT CAN BE MUSTERED TO MAKE IT WORK. BUT SURELY IT'S WORTH A GO. (END TEXT.)
ROBINSON

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